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Cover: Needlework picture, "America Lamenting Her Loss at the Tomb of Washington," by Harriet Cutler, circa 1800. Silk and metallic threads and watercolor on satin. The New Haven Colony Historical Society. (James Pickands photo).

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THE NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY was founded in 1862 by a representative group of New Haven citizens. As stated in the Constitution adopted by the Society, revised in 1965:

"The object of the Society shall be the collection, preservation and publication of historical and genealogical matter relating to the early settlement and subsequent history, especially of New Haven and its vicinity, and incidentally of other portions of the United States."

The museum and library of the Society are open free of charge to the public. In addition to the Whitney Avenue building the Society owns the Pardee-Morris House at 325 Lighthouse Road, Morris Cove, New Haven. Built originally in 1685, it was burned during the British invasion in 1779. Rebuilt at once, it incorporates surviving portions of the older structure. The Pardee-Morris House is now restored and furnished appropriately and is open free of charge to the public during the summer months.

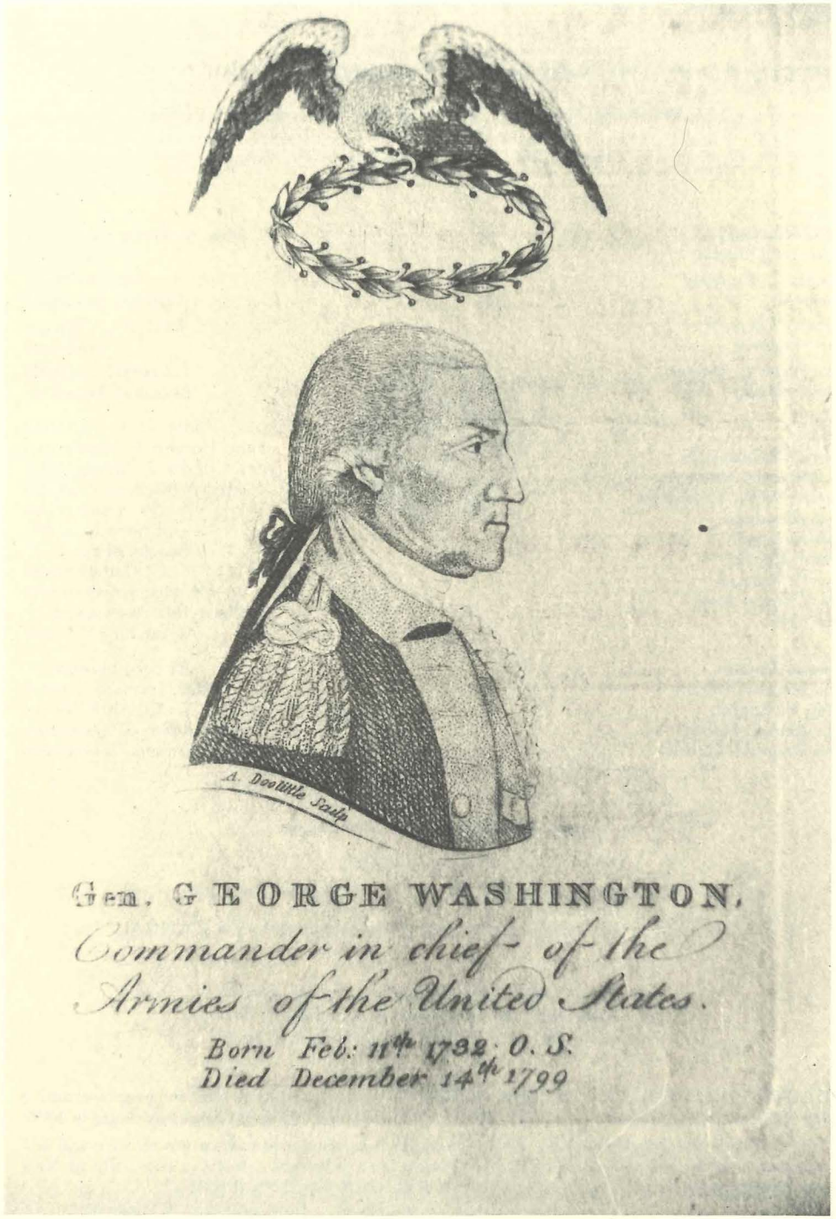

A. Doolittle Sculp.
Gen. GEORGE WASHINGTON.
Commander in chief of the
Armies of the United States.
Born Feb: 11th 1732: O. S.
Died December 14th 1799

Figure 1. "Gen. George Washington," etching, by Amos Doolittle, New Haven, 1800. The New Haven Colony Historical Society.

New Haven Mourns George Washington

by David J. Corrigan

On December 14, 1799, George Washington died suddenly at Mount Vernon. The reaction of the American people to the news of his death was described by Parson Weems in his *Life of Washington,* first published in 1800:

> . . . in every city, village and hamlet, the people were so struck on hearing of his death, that . . . they ran together to ease their troubled minds in talking and hearing talk of Washington, and to devise some public mode of testifying their sorrow for his death. Everywhere throughout the continent, churches and court houses were hung in black, processions were made, and sermons preached.[1]

According to David Humphreys, Washington's former aide-de-camp, "public deliberations ceased, business was suspended, places of amusement were shut . . . and every possible demonstration of sincere mourning was manifested throughout the United States."[2] Noah Webster reported that "all America mourns," and in a New York newspaper it was noted that "all ranks and classes of people appear anxious of expressing their regret."[3]

During a prolonged period of mourning, the American people expressed their sorrow through participation in public funeral services and by the production of a vast quantity of literary and artistic tributes to Washington. President John Adams proclaimed February 22, 1800 a day for Americans to assemble and publicly exhibit their grief "by suitable eulogies, orations, discourses, or by public prayers."[4] Virtually every home in America possessed "a print, needlework picture or some representation of Washington's death."[5]

New Haven shared in this national preoccupation with mourning. Timothy Dwight's lengthy *Discourse on the Character of George Washington* was the focal point of the public services held in the Brick Meetinghouse on February 22, 1800. New Haven's booksellers sold copies of the funeral sermons and memorial poems delivered in other cities. Two weekly newspapers provided a constant flow of information about Washington's death and funeral and also printed accounts of the public services in surrounding towns. Visual representations of Washington's death and funeral were also produced in New Haven, including an

engraved portrait by Amos Doolittle and a wax representation of the death scene at Mount Vernon by Reuben Moulthrop. Needlework mourning pictures, showing America lamenting her loss at Washington's tomb, were done by Harriet Cutler and Betsy Baldwin. A theatrical production, similar to those performed in New York and Philadelphia, was also staged.

Through these expressions of mourning, New Haveners contributed to a process which Daniel Boorstin has termed the "mythologizing of George Washington." Lacking such legendary figures as Romulus and Remus, Aeneas, or Charlemagne in their national heritage, Americans seized upon Washington's military exploits, his political achievements, and his character, rapidly and self-consciously transforming him into a living, mythical hero.[6] The process continued after his death, with Washington venerated as the product and symbol of the young republic. He soon came to represent the nation to itself and to personify the ideal American.[7] The nation's youth were expected to emulate Washington's public and private virtues, catalogued in the more than 300 eulogies, sermons, and orations delivered at public funeral services across the country, and in the numerous biographies written in the nineteenth century.

Prior to New Haven's public services, the city mourned through the pages of the *Connecticut Journal* and *The Messenger*. As evidenced by the almost weekly references to Washington during January and February, 1800, New Haveners devoted as much time to reading about him as they did to talking about him.

Although news of Washington's death was probably received in New Haven soon after it occurred, it was not until December 26, 1799 that the *Connecticut Journal* announced the "mournful event" in black-bordered columns. This issue contained the letter from Tobias Lear, Washington's secretary, to President Adams informing him that Washington had died from an "inflammatory sore throat, which proceeded from a cold." In a passage that may have influenced many of the later funeral sermons and poems, Lear reported that

> His last scene corresponded with the whole tenor of his life. Not a groan nor a complaint escaped him, in extreme distress. With perfect resignation and a full possession of his reason, he closed his well-spent life.[8]

Adams, in transmitting Lear's letter to Congress, remarked, "It remains for an affectionate and grateful people, in whose heart he can never die, to pay suitable honor to his memory."[9] The *Journal* noted that Mrs. Adams, out of respect for General Washington, had deferred her drawing room until December 27, and that ladies planning to attend should wear white trimmed with black ribbon and black gloves and fans, while ladies of government officers were to wear black.[10] Mrs. Adams's drawing room was held the same day as the mock funeral held for Washington in Philadelphia, and New Haven readers were later provided with a full description of the services and with the text of the funeral oration delivered by Major General Richard Henry Lee.[11]

According to the account printed on January 2, 1800 of the actual funeral services held at Mount Vernon, Washington's shrouded corpse lay in state on the portico, and his countenance, "still composed and serene, seemed to express the dignity of the spirit which lately dwelt in that lifeless form."[12] A large procession escorted the body to the family plot on the banks of the Potomac River, where the Episcopalian funeral service was performed. The account closed with a bit of patriotic word play in which immortality was conferred upon the fallen hero:

> The sun was now setting. Alas! The son of GLORY was set forever. No—the name of WASHINGTON—The American President and General—will triumph over DEATH! The unclouded brightness of his glory will illuminate future ages![13]

One week after the account of Washington's funeral, New Haveners could read Theodore Dwight's *Lines on the Death of Washington*, one of the earliest poetic expressions of grief to appear. Dwight thought it proper to

> Let business cease; let vain amusement fly,
> Let parties mingle, and let Faction die,
> The Realm perform, by warm affection led,
> Funereal honors to the MIGHTY DEAD.[14]

Echoing the words of Tobias Lear, Dwight described Washington's final moments:

> Prepar'd for death, his calm and steady eye,
> Look'd fearless upwards to a peaceful sky;
> While wondering Angels point the airy road,
> Which leads the CHRISTIAN to the THRONE OF GOD.[15]

Theodore Dwight, like his brother Timothy, President of Yale College, was a staunch Federalist and opponent of Jeffersonian Republicanism, believing that without the presence of Washington to bid "all contention cease," faction, treason, and discord would soon engulf the nation. Such a fate could be avoided only if Americans remained true to Washington's principles, embodied in Federalism.

On January 9, 1800, the *Connecticut Journal* also printed an account of Washington's death scene:

> Mrs. Washington was at his bedside, with his family, and a number of domestics in the room.—He would not wound their sensibility by taking a formal leave of any one.—He died as he lived. Here would have been a scene for a WEST or a TRUMBULL.[16]

Instead it became a scene for a Reuben Moulthrop. The artist announced on February 20 that he had on exhibit at his wax-works on Court Street a wax rep-

resentation of "the illustrious Hero . . . as fallen a victim to Death; his Lady and Domestics as weeping around him."[17] Exhibited two days before New Haven's public services, Moulthrop's wax representation provided the first visual reinforcement of the newspaper accounts of events surrounding Washington's death.

Notice of the city's public services first appeared on January 9:

> We are desired to request the Citizens of New Haven to meet at the State House THIS EVENING at 7 o'clock, to make suitable arrangements for a public testimony of their Grief for the Death of General GEORGE WASHINGTON, on the 22nd Day of February next, agreeable to the recommendations from the President of the United States.[18]

At this meeting, a Committee of the Town of New Haven, headed by Henry Daggett, was appointed to plan the public services. By February 1, these arrangements were complete, and the Committee's report, printed in *The Messenger* on February 6, contained the schedule of events for the public services and prescribed the official signs of mourning to be displayed. On February 22, all bells in the city would be tolled from 6:00 to 6:15 a.m. and again at 9:00 a.m. and noon. All flags, including those on ships in the harbor, would fly at half-mast. The men of New Haven were to wear crepe or a black ribbon on their left arms, while black ribbons worn "in such manner as they deem proper" were suggested for the women.[19]

The residents of New Haven assembled at the Brick Meetinghouse on the Green at 2:00 p.m., February 22, to participate in the public services, which began with the singing of an anthem: "It is better to go to the house of mourning than to the house of feasting, for that is the end of all flesh; for it is appointed unto all men to die, and blessed are the dead that die in the Lord."[20] The Reverend James Dana, Pastor of the First Society, then offered a "well-adapted" prayer, which was followed by the singing of the sixth verse of the 89th Psalm.[21] Timothy Dwight then delivered his *Discourse on the Character of George Washington,* and the Reverend Bela Hubbard of Trinity Church read Washington's *Farewell Address.* A prayer, offered by the Reverend John Gemmil of the North Church, was followed by the concluding funeral dirge. Henry Daggett later reported that "the attention and the conduct of the citizens evidenced their gratitude for the eminent services and their veneration for the distinguished virtues, of the illustrious man, whose death they deplored."[22]

Veneration for Washington's distinguished virtues was the theme of Timothy Dwight's *Discourse.* Conscious of the fact that an eloquent eulogist could endow a man with a character he had never possessed, Dwight wished to "exhibit a plain and chastised account of Washington."[23] He began by noting that revolutionary changes in religions and empires often raised some men above the ordinary plane of existence. Mere historical importance, however, did not guarantee respectability. The actions of Cyrus, Alexander, Caesar, and Genghis Khan

achieved them notoriety rather than admiration. Other men, especially Moses, Saint Paul, Gustavus Adolphus, and Alfred the Great, whose actions commanded respect and whose lives were worthy of imitation, stood as examples of the way in which God achieved the moral renewal of mankind and the reform of government. To this second group Dwight added the name of Washington. An examination of Washington's military and political activities and an "exhibition of the attributes which he manifested"[24] would demonstrate the similarities between him and the earlier figures and would serve to justify his inclusion among them.

The account of Washington's public career was brief, highlighting his early military exploits, his selection as commander-in-chief of the army, and his election as President. Dwight's intention was to illuminate Washington's character and to stress his importance as a model for the American people. He extolled the practical bent of Washington's mind, his independence of thought, and his cautious judgment. Washington's firmness and unchanging spirit Dwight saw reflected in his grave, serene countenance, which "no man ever saw . . . change."[25] He was just, moderate, and proper; punctual, reserved, and religious.

Since Washington had been "so often and so illustriously panegyrized both at home and abroad as to leave little chance for novelty or success,"[26] Dwight expressed hesitancy in attempting yet another eulogy. But he apparently overcame his reluctance when given the opportunity to teach "in the most affecting manner in my power, the youths committed to my instruction, and forming a part of this audience, the way to become great, respectable and useful."[27] Washington's character was a "subject so singular, and edifying" that the youth of New Haven, Dwight's Yale students, and all American youth could not "fail of gaining useful practical instruction" from studying it.[28] Dwight believed that the nation's youth should possess and display the attributes manifested by Washington. In the midst of their mourning for Washington, American youths were exhorted to imitate his

> incessant attention, the exact observation, the unwearied industry, the scrupulous regard to advice, the slowness of decision, the cautious prudence, the nice punctuality, the strict propriety, the independence of thought and feeling, the unwavering firmness, the unbiassed [*sic*] impartiality, the steady moderation, the exact justice, the unveering truth, the universal humanity, and the high veneration for religion, and for God, always manifested by this great man.[29]

A model for youthful imitation, Washington also provided a "glorious pattern" for the nation's rulers. The steady pursuit of the policies which Washington espoused and forcefully recommended in his *Farewell Address* would ensure the durability of his achievement. In continuing his policies, Americans would

find less reason to lament that Washington is dead; because they will see him live in the policy and glory, the safety and peace, the virtue and felicity of his beloved country.[30]

In his dual role as President of Yale College and a leader of the Connecticut Federalists, Dwight was in a position to inculcate Washington's virtues in his students and to oppose strenuously any politician who failed, in his view, to uphold Washington's principles. His reputation undoubtedly gained his *Discourse* a wide audience when it was printed with Washington's *Farewell Address* and sold by Isaac Beers in New Haven for twenty cents.[31] Charles Brockden Brown's *Monthly Magazine and American Review* described the *Discourse* as "remarkably different from most of these that have issued from the press or the pulpit on the same occasion," in that Dwight had studiously avoided "all fervor and impetuosity of conception and language" and presented an analytical description of Washington's character. Such analysis was to be preferred to the "bold career of eloquence," which tended to hurry the listener or reader away, leaving no time for deliberation.[32]

Despite the attempt to present a "plain and chastised account" of Washington, and despite Brown's opinion that it was "remarkably different," Dwight's *Discourse* proves to have been typical of the eulogies delivered on the occasion of Washington's death, exhibiting a Federalist bias, and presenting a dehumanized Washington, stripped of all particularity and transformed into an "abstract catalog of virtues."[33] Yet the *Discourse* and the public services which it keynoted undoubtedly provided an emotional release for the grief of New Haven residents and fulfilled their desire to pay suitable tribute to their hero.

Following the public services, New Haven's preoccupation with Washington went on unabated, and people continued to indulge in reading and talking about him. Newspaper accounts of public services held in the surrounding towns were avidly consumed, as were the printed copies of sermons and poems delivered in Connecticut and other states.

In Cheshire, the Reverend Augustus Foote delivered an oration portraying Washington's character with "propriety and delicacy," and the "solemnities of the day . . . appeared to make that impression on the minds of the audience which they were intended to produce."[34] North Branford's "solemn, decent and impressive" services were ". . . introduced by a funeral ode, composed for the occasion, and sung by Mr. Jairus Harrison, and the school under his care."[35] Harrison's ode succinctly expressed the mournful, reverential nature of the public services in the following lines:

Let every heart, with poignant grief,
Bemoan Columbia's darling chief;
Our shield is broke, our glory fled,
Our Hero slumbers with the dead.[36]

Richard Alsop, in his *Poem Sacred to the Memory of George Washington,* delivered in Middletown, also bemoaned Washington's death and expressed fear for the nation's future:

Must WASHINGTON to realms of splendor borne
Thus leave his people guardless and forlorn?[37]

The poet-narrator was rebuked by a heavenly messenger, who inquired:

Would'st thou complain that, freed from ills of life,
From this low vale of sorrow and of strife,
With honors laden and in full of time,
To realms of joy and seats of bliss sublime,
Great WASHINGTON has wing'd his raptur'd way
And walks with angels 'mid the blaze of day?[38]

Chastened, the poet listened as the white-robed figure assured him that Washington would not forsake his country, although his protection would take a new form:

His name, his bright example long shall prove
Her bond secure of union and of love
Shall urge her sons to emulate his worth
And wake each slumb'ring virtue into birth.
Adhering firmly to his precepts pure
To latest time her freedom shall endure. . . . [39]

Alsop then commissioned America's youth to follow Washington's example:

O let your PATRIOT FATHER'S precepts rest
Deep in your hearts indelibly imprest!
Let his example bright your souls inspire,
To virtue kindle and to glory fire. . . .
By virtuous acts, disinterested zeal,
And fond devotion to their country's weal,
With unremitting ardour to pursue
The path that WASHINGTON has op'd to view.[40]

With Alsop's influence as the leader of the Connecticut Wits, Isaac Beers could have experienced little trouble in selling the copies of the *Poem* which he advertised for sale in the *Connecticut Journal* on March 13, 1800. Described as "stylistically correct but uninspired," Alsop's *Poem* was one of the more ambitious and influential poetic expressions of mourning available in New Haven and was the versified counterpart to Timothy Dwight's appeal for adherence to Federalist precepts.[41]

North Haven's Reverend Benjamin Trumbull, in his discourse entitled *The Majesty and Mortality of Created Gods,* reminded his listeners that although God

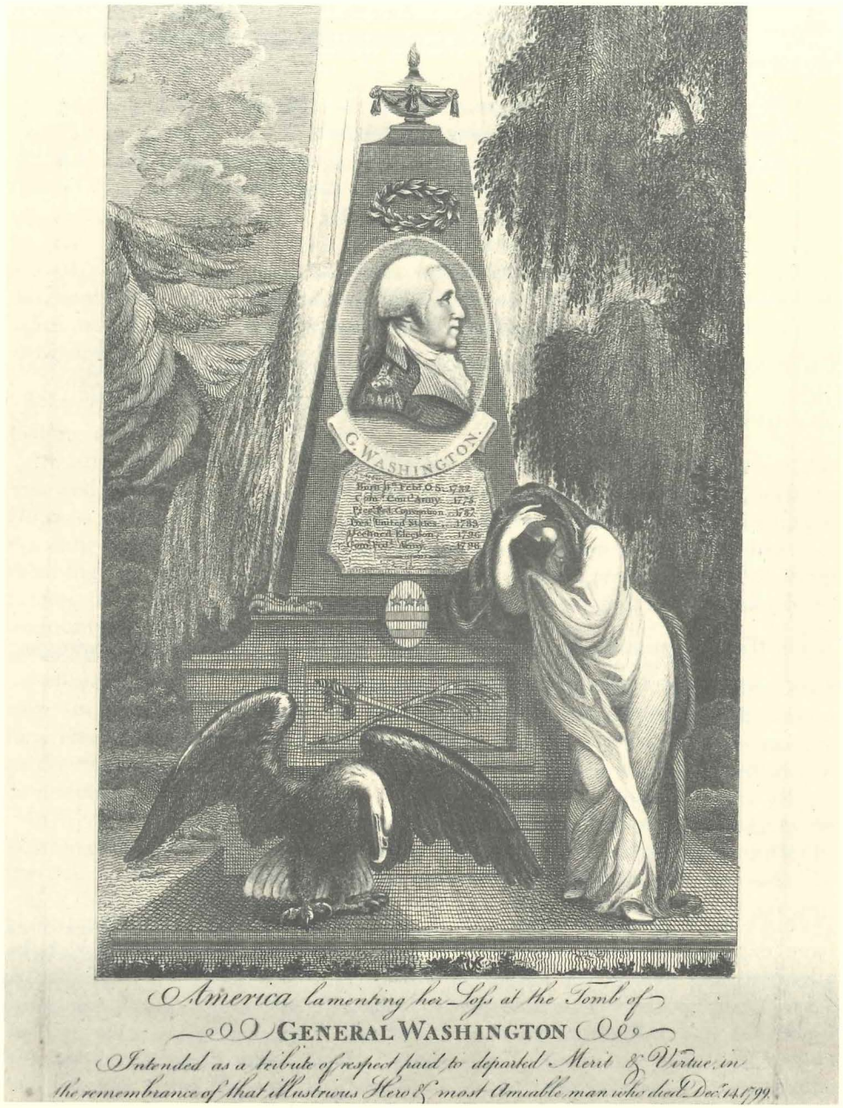

G. WASHINGTON.
America lamenting her Loss at the Tomb of
GENERAL WASHINGTON
Intended as a tribute of respect paid to departed Merit & Virtue in
the remembrance of that Illustrious Hero & most Amiable man who died Dec.r 14.1799.

Figure 2. "America Lamenting Her Loss at the Tomb of General Washington," line engraving, by James Akin and William Harrison, Jr., Philadelphia, 1800. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

exalts some men by placing them in high office, these "created Gods of the earth," like lesser men, remain subject to death and all its consequences. When such gods die, they are universally mourned, as were Moses and Josiah. So, too, should America mourn Washington, since "great bereavements call for great mourning and humiliation."[42] Yet, Trumbull urged, while they mourned, Americans should recall and imitate Washington's "exalted virtues," especially his patriotism, integrity, impartiality, and extensive usefulness.[43]

Contemplation of Washington's character would allow Americans to form a just estimate of their loss, and for this reason, Trumbull traced Washington's military and political career, concentrating on his command of the armies during the Revolutionary War.[44] Facing the best generals and troops that Europe could supply, Washington, with an army of men "drawn from their fields and shops," was "never once surprised, never lost an army, nor suffered any considerable defeat."[45] As commander-in-chief, Washington exhibited striking demonstrations of an uncommon genius, a singular knowledge of mankind, and the most masterly strokes of generalship."[46]

Trumbull's discourse was delivered at North Haven on December 29, but it was not until March that New Haveners could purchase copies of it from Isaac Beers.[47] However, judging from Benjamin Silliman's description of Trumbull's preaching style, a reading of the discourse could not equal the effect of hearing it. Silliman, a close friend of Trumbull, described his style as "highly animated," saying that he "preached and prayed as if he were really in earnest; . . . his voice was mournful, and he appeared like one about to weep, as if his head and eyes were indeed a fountain of tears."[48] With a style well suited to a funeral discourse, Trumbull apparently hoped to elicit an outpouring of emotion from his listeners on February 22, 1800, when he exclaimed:

> Weep. O Virginia, your glory is departed. Weep, ye sages of the nation. . . . Weep. O ye officers and armies whom he commanded. . . . Weep, O ye Cincinnati, ye Masonic brethren, and all who have eyes to weep and hearts to mourn, come, show how you loved him, come water his tomb with your tears.[49]

Silliman also noted that Trumbull's reputation as an historian, patriot, and preacher would always draw an audience, "but his lugubrious manner sometimes drew forth a smile from the light-minded man of the world."[50]

A reviewer of the discourse found more erudition and good common sense than liveliness or elegance in the sermon, and "much of the disciplined seriousness of the divine and of the information of the scholar; but little of the ease and grace of the accomplished rhetorician."[51] Despite its lack of elegance and its sentimental appeal, Trumbull's discourse focused New Haven's image of Washington as a military hero and helped to determine the type of mourning considered appropriate to the death of such a figure.

The frontispiece of the printed version of the discourse, "a good likeness of

the General . . . from a neat copper plate," was an etching by Amos Doolittle after an etching of Washington done in 1790 by Joseph Wright[52] (Figure 1). Doolittle's addition of the American Eagle holding the laurel wreath may have been derived from an account in New York's *Commercial Advertiser* of the mock funeral held for Washington in that city. In the procession, "the American Eagle . . . cloud borne, with extended but drooping wings, appeared to hover over the ashes of the Hero, holding in his beak a laurel wreath."[53] Doolittle produced numerous engravings of Washington, but the copy of Wright's portrait showing him in military uniform best captured the spirit of Trumbull's discourse, which eulogized Washington as one of the ablest military minds in the history of the world.

Trumbull had also wondered how sorrow for Washington would cross the Atlantic and "urge the silent tear from thousands of European eyes."[54] Derby's David Humphreys, in his sonnet *On Receiving the News of the Death of General Washington,* assured Trumbull and America that Washington's death was, indeed, mourned in Europe:

> Hark! friends! what sobs of sorrow, moans of grief,
> On every gale, through every region spread!
> Hark! how the western world bewails our chief,
> Great Washington, his country's father dead.[55]

Writing to Mrs. Washington from the American Legation in Madrid on February 22, 1800, Humphreys sought to comfort her with the knowledge that "The loss of the most distinguished man of the age is an event which has produced an extensive mourning in Europe as well as in America."[56] In France, Napoleon himself ordered that a eulogy to Washington be composed and delivered at a public mourning ceremony, while in England, "sailors of American vessels in the Thames assisted at the church in Wapping at a service adapted to the occasion."[57]

Further evidence of the British reaction was provided by an account from a London newspaper, reprinted in the *Connecticut Journal* in April 1880. Expressed in typical eulogistic terms, the account read in part:

> The decease of this truly great man will be lamented by the admirers of genius, integrity and genuine patriotism; for, however his exertions prevailed in depriving Great Britain of one of her most important possessions, the whole tenor of his conduct sufficiently proves that he acted from the purest principles. His memory and character must therefore be held in the highest veneration, by every lover of public virtue and private worth.[58]

In addition to the published sermons of Timothy Dwight and Benjamin Trumbull, sermons from other parts of the country were also available for the edification of New Haven mourners. Isaac Beers advertised "A considerable number of Orations, Eulogies and Sermons on the much regretted death of

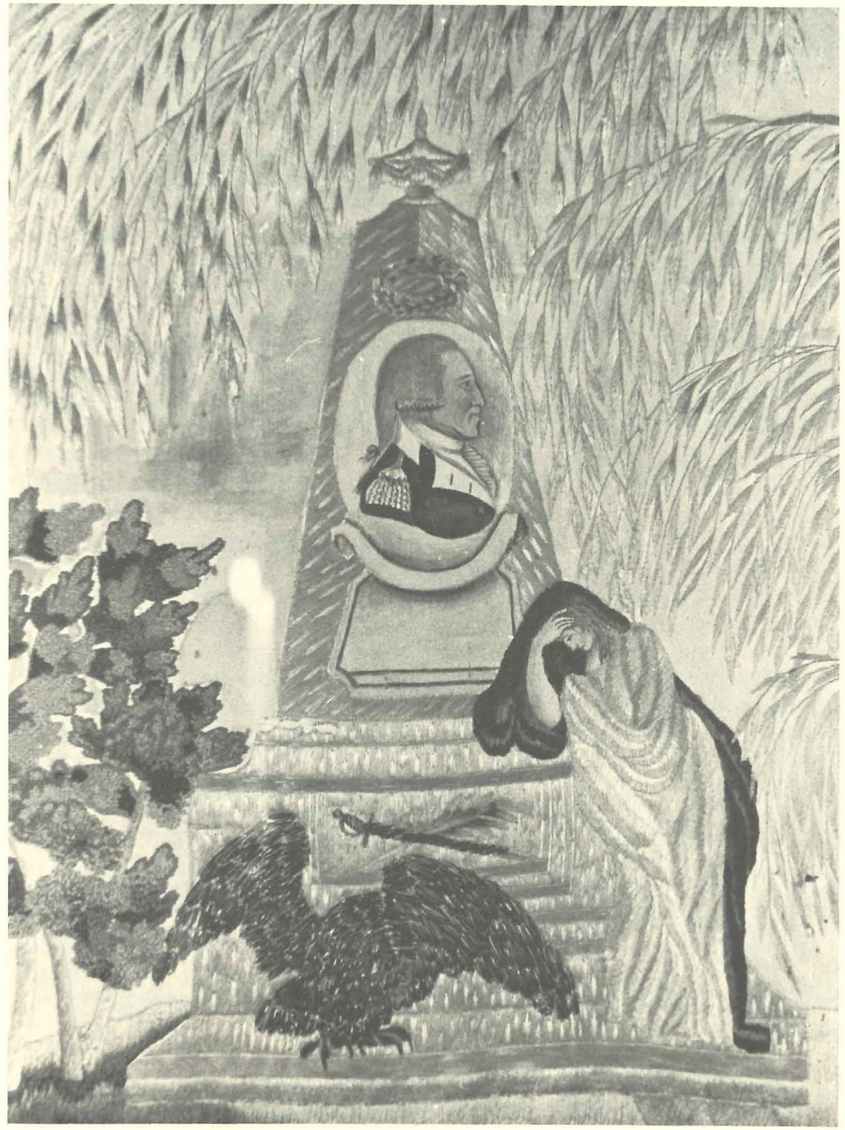


Figure 3. Detail of cover illustration.

General Washington" in *The Messenger* on April 15, 1800. Beers probably sold Fisher Ames's *Oration on the Sublime Virtues of George Washington*, Gouverneur Morris's *Oration Upon the Death of General Washington*, and *Two Discourses Occasioned by the Death of General George Washington*, delivered by Uzal Ogden of Newark, New Jersey, as well as other sermons printed in Connecticut.[59] Washington's death invested the custom of publishing funeral sermons with patriotic import, since valuable insight into his character was to be gained through an attentive reading of the many sermons and eulogies.

Although the written word was the predominant vehicle for New Haven's mourning, visual representations, including those of Doolittle and Moulthrop, were also produced by New Haven residents. Next door to the wax-works where Moulthrop exhibited his Washington death scene was John Booth's Assembly Hall, the scene of New Haven's earliest professional theatrical performances. On April 3, 1800, Booth announced that the "Amusement" at his next "Regale" would "commence with a Monody of the Death of General George Washington as lately spoken in the principal theaters in America."[60] John Hodgkinson, a popular actor, had recited Samuel Low's *Ode on the Death of General George Washington* at the New-York Theater on the night of January 8, 1800, and a few weeks earlier, a Mr. Wignell recited "A Monody of the Death of the much lamented . . . Lieutenant General . . . Washington" at Philadelphia's New Theater.[61] Such recitations were usually accompanied by elaborate stage sets. In Philadelphia, the scenery for Wignell's recitation included a tomb in the center of the stage, upon which was a portrait of Washington. Below the portrait were a sword, a shield, a helmet, and the colors of the United States. At the base of the tomb was the American Eagle, shedding tears of blood, and to the right was the weeping figure of America.[62] Although it is not known how elaborate Booth's production was, he undoubtedly provided an appropriate set. It is unfortunate that both the title and the author of the monody are unknown, as is the name of the person who recited it, since Booth's "Regale" of April 3, 1800 was the "first evening of dramatic entertainment to be presented in New Haven, Connecticut."[63] In 1800, theatrical productions had only recently been permitted in the state, and the inclusion in Booth's program of an edifying monody of the death of Washington was probably considered a valid reason for allowing it to be staged.

The stage set for Wignell's Philadelphia performance was reproduced as an engraving by James Akin and William Harrison, Jr.[64] (Figure 2). Published in Philadelphia on January 20, 1800, it was advertised in a broadside four days later:

> The print . . . is admirably calculated to ornament the parlour, or hang as a centrepiece between any two other prints; it will also suit to enrich the labours of the needle upon white satin, and will be found an agreeable pastime for the ladies.[65]

Those who wished to have the design printed in colors or upon satin were requested to contact the publishers in Philadelphia. At least two young New Haven women, Harriet Cutler and Betsy Baldwin, produced needlework pictures based on the Akin and Harrison print[66] (Figure 3). The Cutler picture, worked in silk and metallic thread and watercolor on a satin ground, may have been done in one of the local schools that offered instruction in fancy needlework. Although based on the advertised print, the picture appears to have been drawn, not printed, on the satin, possibly by the young lady's needlework instructress. Needlework was the primary medium for feminine artistic endeavor, and in doing a mourning picture of Washington, Harriet Cutler was afforded an acceptable outlet for her grief, and one which dramatized Benjamin Trumbull's exhortation to weep at Washington's tomb.

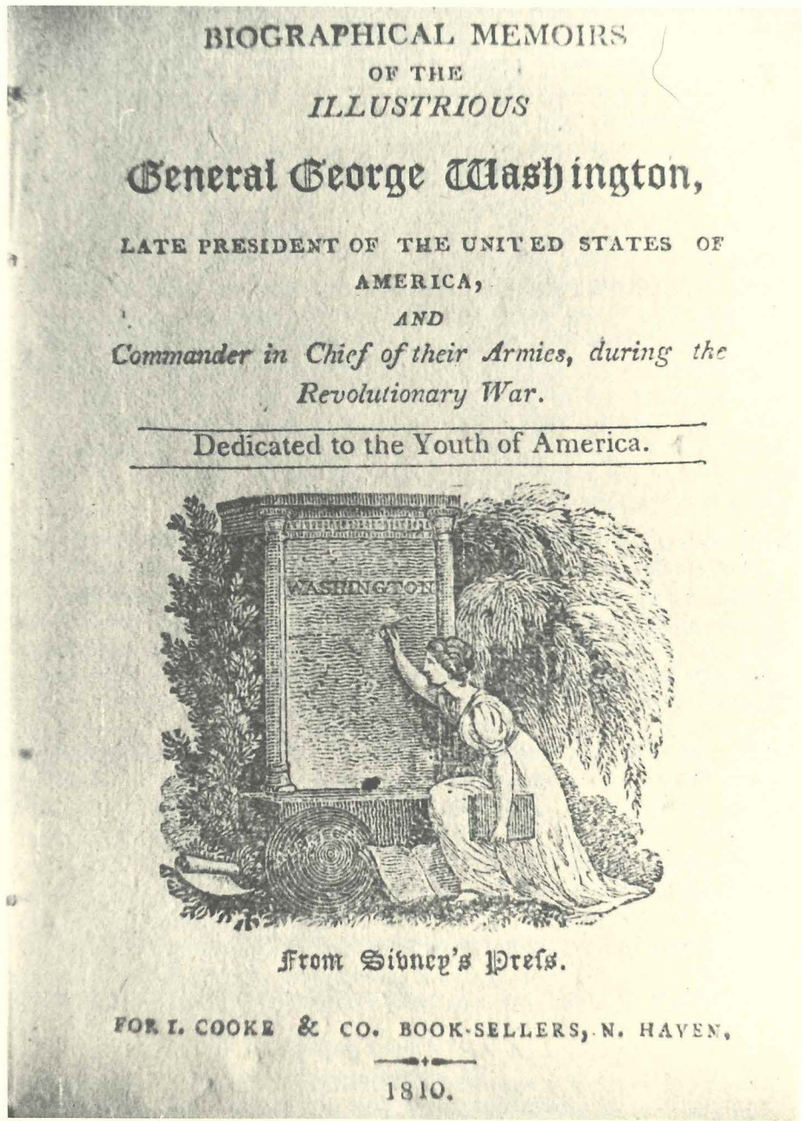
In the years immediately following Washington's death, overt expressions of mourning diminished, but New Haveners could read the numerous eulogistic biographies that continued the mythologizing tendencies of the earlier funeral orations and poems. Both David Humphreys and Noah Webster planned biographies of Washington, but both were unsuccessful in their attempts to obtain access to the papers he had bequeathed to his nephew, Judge Bushrod Washington. The *Connecticut Journal* reported that

> His Excellency David Humphreys, Minister of the U.S. Court of Madrid, will write the life of the illustrious Washington.—He is in possession of most of the requisite documents, and will be furnished by proper authorities with further materials for the interesting work. The Colonel served with General Washington during the War, and has a personal knowledge of many of the events of the immortal Patriot's life.[67]

Noah Webster, from his residence on Water Street, wrote to Secretary of State Timothy Pickering seeking information about the Washington papers and offering his services as a biographer. Webster considered Washington's life to be a subject of interest " . . . to the family, to this country and to the world. . . . "[68] Citing his leisure and financial independence, Webster said he knew of " . . . no other man, in this country, who enjoys, at present, the same advantage for making use of the papers left by General Washington."[69] Neither Humphreys nor Webster wrote their projected biographies; the task was performed by John Marshall.

In 1803 Increase Cooke and Co. and Isaac Beers and Co. jointly announced

> A NATIONAL WORK
> *Life of Washington*
> Subscriptions to this invaluable
> History will be received at the
> Bookstores[70]


BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIRS
OF THE
ILLUSTRIOUS

General George Washington,

LATE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
AND
Commander in Chief of their Armies, during the Revolutionary War.

Dedicated to the Youth of America.

From Sidney's Press.

FOR I. COOKE & CO. BOOK-SELLERS, N. HAVEN.

1810.

Figure 4. Title page from Richard Corry's *Biographical Memoirs of the Illustrious General George Washington,* New Haven, 1810. The New Haven Colony Historical Society.

Referring to Marshall's ponderous, multi-volume biography, this advertisement apparently enticed David Daggett, a prominent New Haven lawyer and politician, to subscribe.[71] Three years later, Beers and Howe offered David Ramsay's *Life of Washington* for sale at $2.50, and in 1810, Walter, Austin and Co. was selling the Rev. Aaron Bancroft's one-volume abridgement of Marshall's *Life.*[72] In that same year, Increase Cooke and Co. sold John Corry's *Biographical Memoirs of the Illustrious General George Washington,* published by Cooke's partner, John Babcock, owner of Sidney's Press.[73] Dedicated to the youth of America, its frontispiece depicted a youthful mourner at Washington's tomb (Figure 4). Similar in style to the earlier eulogies, this child's biography of Washington presented his life in glowing, patriotic terms and upheld the image of Washington as the supreme example for American youth.

The death of George Washington in 1799 was a tragic blow to the American people, but of greater importance and interest now is their reaction to that event. Washington, the military and political savior, was deified in response to the need for a specifically American hero. The process of his mythologizing thus appears as a significant element in post-Revolutionary America's search for cultural independence through the development of American themes.

In New Haven, the earlier poetical efforts of Timothy Dwight and Noah Webster's work in lexicography were obvious contributions to this emerging national culture.[74] To these the works of New Haveners who venerated Washington through orations and verse, waxwork and needlework, public services, and theatrical productions should now be added. The favorable reviews of the discourses by Dwight and Trumbull, Moulthrop's exhibition of his Washington death scene in New York, the Washington *Monody* at Booth's theater, Doolittle's copy of Wright's portrait, and the needlework versions of the Akin and Harrison print are indications of the integration of New Haven's cultural life with that of the nation as a whole. Galvanized by the death of Washington, New Haven and America entered the nineteenth century prepared to follow the example of the god they had created in their own image.

NOTES

1. Mason L. Weems, *The Life of Washington,* ed. Marcus Cunliffe (Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 1962), p. 171. (Reprint of 1809 edition.)

2. David Humphreys, *Miscellaneous Works* (New York, 1804), p. 163. (Isaac Beers advertised "a few copies" of Humphreys' *Works* in the *Connecticut Journal* on May 14, 1805.)

3. Noah Webster, *Diary,* December, 1799, in Emily Ford, *Notes on the Life of Noah Webster* (New York: Privately printed, 1912), vol. I, p. 491; Advertisement for a "Washington print" by Longworth and Wheeler, *Mercantile Advertiser,* February 25, 1800, in Rita Susswein Gottesman, *The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1800-1804* (New York: New York Historical Society, 1965), pp. 48-49.

4. John Adams, *A Proclamation,* January 6, 1800, reprinted in Timothy Dwight's *Discourse on the Character of George Washington* (New Haven: Thomas Green and Son, 1800), p. 3.

5. Susan B. Swan, *Plain and Fancy: American Women and Their Needlework: 1700-1850* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1977), p. 184.

6. Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), p. 337.

7. William S. Bryan, *George Washington in American Literature, 1775-1865* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), p. 234. See Boorstin, *The Americans*, pp. 337-56, and Bernard Mayo, *Myths and Men* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1959), pp. 25-48.

8. *Connecticut Journal*, December 26, 1799.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Connecticut Journal*, January 9, January 23, 1800.

12. *Connecticut Journal*, January 2, 1800.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Connecticut Journal*, January 9, 1800. (The author of the poem was not identified in the *Journal*, but the poem was attributed to Dwight by Samuel Kettell in his *Specimens of American Poetry* (Boston, 1829), vol. II, pp. 71-73, quoted by Bryan, *George Washington in American Literature*, p. 156).

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Connecticut Journal*, January 9, 1800. (Later references to Washington in the *Journal* included extracts from his will on January 23 and February 13 and mention of the disposition of his papers on March 13.)

17. *Connecticut Journal*, February 20, 1800. (Moulthrop later advertised another "striking likeness of His Excellency George Washington, represented as reassuming the Sword in defense of his Country. . . . This is allowed to be the best likeness that has been taken." *Connecticut Journal*, June 18, 1800. Both of these wax representations were exhibited in New York City during the period of mourning. See Gottesman, *Arts and Crafts*, p. 90. Earlier, in 1797, Moulthrop had advertised a life-size wax figure of Washington in New York. See Rita Susswein Gottesman, *The Arts and Crafts in New York: 1777-1799* (New York: New York Historical Society, 1954), p. 393.

18. *Connecticut Journal*, January 9, 1800.

19. *The Messenger*, February 6, 1800.

20. *The Messenger*, February 27, 1800. (This issue contained an account of the public services.)

21. *Ibid.* ("For who in heaven can be compared unto the Lord? Who among the sons of the mighty can be likened unto the Lord?")

22. Timothy Dwight, *Discourse*, p. 4.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 7.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 28.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

31. *Connecticut Journal*, April 17, 1800.

32. *Monthly Magazine and American Review*, vol. II, January-June, 1800, pp. 431-32.

33. Bryan, *George Washington in American Literature*, p. 13. See also pp. 60-61, 236.

34. *Connecticut Journal*, March 6, 1800.

35. *Connecticut Journal*, March 13, 1800.

36. *Ibid.*

37. Richard Alsop, *A Poem Sacred to the Memory of George Washington*, (Hartford, Hudson and Goodwin, 1800), reprinted in *The Magazine of History with Notes and Queries*, vol. 30, no. 2 (1926), pp. 93-113, p. 110.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 112, 113.

41. *Monthly Magazine and American Review*, vol. II, January-June, 1800, pp. 309-12, quoted by Bryan, *George Washington in American Literature*, p. 155.

42. Benjamin Trumbull, *The Majesty and Mortality of Created Gods* (New Haven: Read and Morse, 1800), p. 17.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

47. *The Messenger*, March 6, 1800.

48. Quoted by Franklin B. Dexter in "Benjamin Trumbull," *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1896), vol. II, p. 622.

49. Trumbull, *Mortality and Majesty*, pp. 29-30.

50. Dexter, "Benjamin Trumbull," p. 623.

51. *Monthly Magazine and American Review*, vol. III, July-December, 1800, p. 209.

52. *The Messenger*, March 6, 1800. See Charles Henry Hart, *A Catalogue of the Engraved Portraits of Washington* (New York: The Grolier Club, 1904), p. 68, no. 145.

53. *The Commercial Advertiser*, January 3, 1800, quoted by Davida Deutsch in "Washington Memorial Prints," *The Magazine Antiques*, vol. III, February, 1977, p. 327.

54. Trumbull, *Mortality and Majesty*, p. 29.

55. Humphreys, *Works*, p. 338.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

58. *Connecticut Journal*, April 17, 1800.

59. The New Haven Colony Historical Society owns a volume of Washington funeral sermons, probably collected and bound by a New Haven resident, which contains the discourses by Dwight and Trumbull, the three listed above, Richard Henry Lee's oration

delivered in Philadelphia, and sermons from New London, Connecticut; Flatbush, New York; and Elizabeth-Town [*sic*], New Jersey. James H. Trumbull listed twenty-seven orations, eulogies, sermons, and discourses on Washington in his *List of Books Printed in Connecticut, 1709-1800* (Hartford, 1904), and it would seem likely that a number of these would have been available in New Haven, in addition to Dwight's and Trumbull's.

60. *Connecticut Journal,* April 3, 1800.

61. See Bryan, *George Washington in American Literature,* p. 155, for a discussion of Hodgkinson's recitation; and Deutsch, "Washington Memorial Prints," p. 324, for a description of Wignell's performance.

62. *True American and Commercial Advertiser,* December 24, 1799, quoted in Deutsch, "Washington Memorial Prints," p. 324.

63. Arthur Bloom, *The History of the Theater in New Haven, Connecticut before 1860* (unpublished dissertation, Yale University, 1966), p. 122.

64. Deutsch, "Washington Memorial Prints," p. 234. See also Hart, *Catalogue,* p. 69, no. 147.

65. *Ibid.,* p. 325.

66. Harriet Cutler (1787-1859) was the daughter of Richard and Hannah (Howell) Cutler. The picture was donated to the New Haven Colony Historical Society by her daughter, Evelina Cutler Jones, in 1899. Rebecca Baldwin (1788-1861), daughter of Simeon and Rebecca (Sherman) Baldwin, was the granddaughter of Roger Sherman. Her picture is in a private collection. It is not known whether the Akin and Harrison print was sold in New Haven, but a member of the Baldwin or Sherman families could have brought the print or the printed satin to New Haven from Philadelphia. It is also difficult to tell whether the design for either the Cutler or Baldwin picture was drawn or printed. Measurements of the components of each picture are nearly identical to those of the print:

	Print	Baldwin Picture	Cutler Picture
Figure of America	5″	5″	5″
Wingspread of Eagle	4 13/16″	5″	4 3/8″
Monument	10 5/8″	10 1/2″	10 5/8″
Washington Portrait	2 9/16″ x 1 3/4″	2 1/2″ x 2″	2 1/2″ x 1 3/4″

(All references to the Baldwin picture are through the courtesy of Davida Deutsch.)

67. *Connecticut Journal,* January 16, 1800.

68. To Timothy Pickering, March 3, 1800, quoted in Ford, *Notes,* vol. I, p. 477.

69. *Ibid.*

70. *Connecticut Journal,* June 16, 1803.

71. Daggett's autographed copy of the first edition of Marshall's *Life of Washington* (Philadelphia, 1804), is owned by the New Haven Colony Historical Society.

72. *Connecticut Journal,* September 24, 1807, *Connecticut Herald,* March 6, 1810.

73. Francis J. Gagliardi, *The Babcocks of New Haven* (unpublished thesis, Southern Connecticut State College, 1971), p. 199. See pp. 39-58 for the discussion of Increase Cooke and Co.

74. See Ronald Denson and David J. Corrigan, *The Completion of Independence in New Haven: Pioneers of Culture and Industry* (New Haven: New Haven Colony Historical Society, 1975), pp. 12-17.

The New Haven Grays

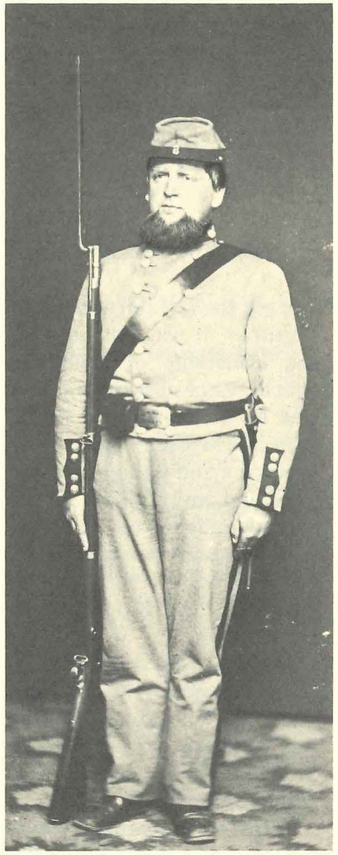
by William A. Wiedersheim

During the last portion of the eighteenth and the first portion of the nineteenth centuries, it was not unusual for local companies of militia to be formed under the leadership of prominent young citizens. These companies often had overtones of elitism, and membership carried with it a degree of distinction: it was by invitation and was highly prized. The companies had great esprit de corps, and their communities were proud of them. Officers were elected, uniforms and equipment were a personal expense, and the state supplied only guns and ammunition. Drills were supplemented by social affairs, including an annual military ball. Men of good education and background were perfectly happy to serve as privates in what was sometimes virtually a private club. But the weekly drills were taken seriously, the affairs of the companies conducted earnestly, and their members never lacked courage when the companies went to war.

The New Haven Grays was such a company. It was called into being by Sophos Staples (1789-1826), a young attorney who had graduated from Yale in 1809 and who practiced law with his elder brother, Seth Staples, a founder of the Yale Law School. The company was formally organized on September 13, 1816. Staples was elected Captain, Thomas G. Woodward First Lieutenant, and Samuel Hitchcock Ensign.

After a winter of drill and fitting out in Mix Assembly Hall, located on Olive Street at the foot of Court, and in the Court House on the Green, the Grays held its first public review on Hillhouse Avenue, then virtually an open field, on May 5, 1817, to the applause of a crowd of onlookers. The company was originally formed as the New Haven Light Infantry, but quickly became known as the New Haven Grays because of the color of its uniforms.

These were especially important because in 1817 most militia units had none at all. Militiamen "fell in" with cartouche, musket, bayonet, and whatever clothes they happened to be wearing. In designing their uniforms, the members of the Grays specified that the cloth should come from one mill to assure evenness of color, and that only products of American manufacture be used in the tailoring. Over the years the design of these dress uniforms remained more or less the same.



Off to the Civil War. Private William E. Goodyear of the New Haven Grays poses for his picture in 1861 before leaving for the front.

In addition to its weekly drills, the New Haven Grays had other tasks. It participated in the city's Fourth of July and other parades, and was Guard of Honor for President Madison, General Lafayette, and President Jackson during their visits to New Haven. Once it helped to contain a town-gown riot.

As does any organization, from time to time the Grays experienced internal problems. For example, the election of officers in 1828 created dissention in the ranks. Ensign John H. Coley was elected Captain over his superior and nominal heir to the post, Lieutenant Charles B. Whittlesey. Some of the members were incensed, and twenty-four resigned to form the National Blues. But the bitterness soon evaporated, and the Grays and the National Blues became friendly rivals for nearly a century.

Captain James M. Townsend, beloved Captain of the New Haven Grays in 1848 and sponsor of the Townsend Rifles in the Civil War. Photo taken circa 1870.

Unexpectedly, in the 1840s, the ranks of the Grays were depleted. The wave of patriotism that had swept the country after the War of 1812 and on which the Grays was so successfully founded by Sophos Staples began to recede. And more than a dozen members caught "Gold Fever." They resigned and headed west for California. At one evening drill only eight members were present. A strenuous recruiting program was undertaken to rebuild the company's strength.

The members of the Grays were strong-minded. In 1856, dissatisfied with the provisions of a law enacted in Hartford concerning state support, they threatened to withdraw from the Connecticut militia and returned the Grays' arms and ammunition to the state arsenal. For this the Grays was debarred

from the 2nd Regiment encampment the following summer. But the differences were eventually ironed out.

The members of the Grays represented the city with pride, frequently played host to companies visiting from other cities, and paid visits in return. The Union Blues of Newark visited New Haven and the Grays in 1835 to celebrate the Fourth of July. A year later the Grays visited Newark, traveling by steamer, in those days a great adventure. And there were visits from the Light Guard of Hartford, the Hancock Light Infantry of Boston, the Paterson Blues, the State Guard of New York City, and others.

These were festive occasions, filled with pomp and ceremony, complete with a parade and review, collations at the New Haven House or the home of a distinguished citizen, and a banquet at the Tontine House. Bands played, toasts were proposed, and a memorable time was had by all. It was the Military at its most glamorous.

In 1856 the Veteran Grays was formed at the instigation of the Mayor of the city, ex-Gray Captain P.S. Galpin. Former Grays, many of them distinguished citizens, maintained a busy, structured organization for many years, attending important social functions of the active members, participating in Memorial Day services, and having dinner each year at the Niantic summer encampment. And the Veteran Grays had its own social functions, too. For a number of years after

Officers and non-commissioned officers, New Haven Grays, 1889, at summer camp.

the Civil War, the Veteran Grays maintained club rooms in the Glebe Building at the corner of Church and Chapel streets.

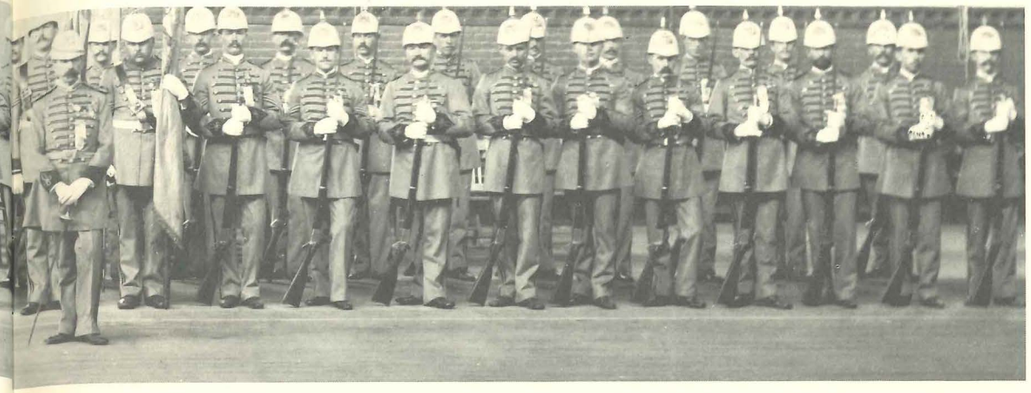
There is no record of the Grays having served as a unit in the Mexican War. But in 1859 E. Walter Osborn was elected Captain and led the Grays off to the Civil War. News of the bombardment of Fort Sumter reached New Haven a few hours before the company met for drill in its new armory in the Collins Building on Chapel Street, and the members' offer of service to the federal government was immediate. The Grays was mustered into federal service for ninety days as Company C, 2nd Regiment, Connecticut Volunteers. The Regiment was commanded by a former member of the Grays, Colonel A.H. Terry, later, as a Major-General, to be the hero of Fort Fisher and the Indian Wars.

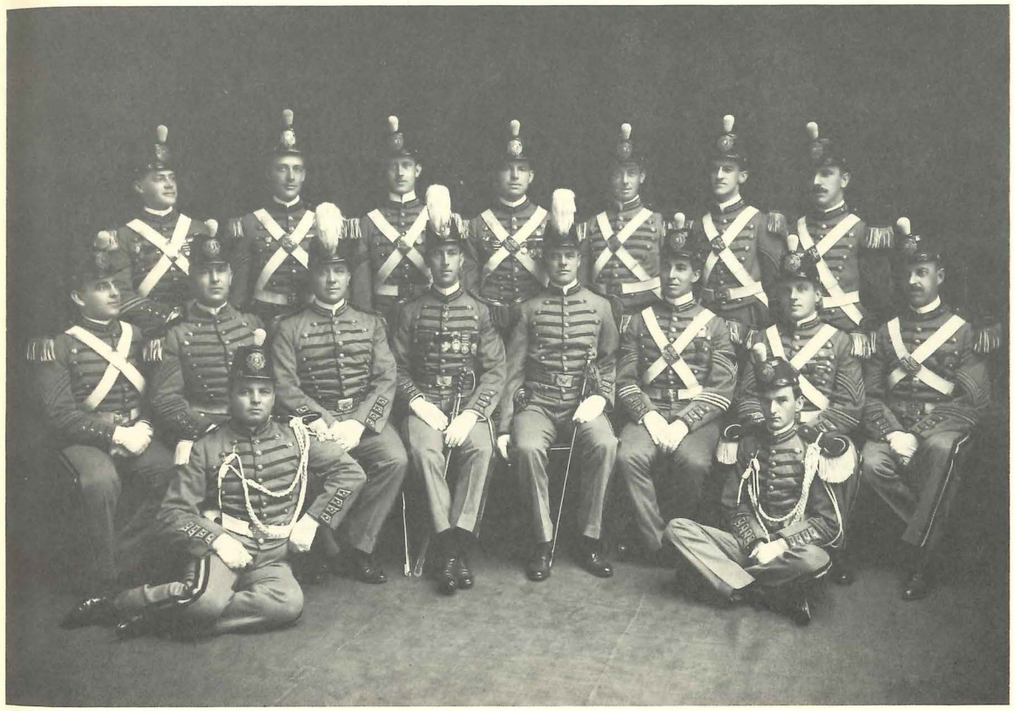
On May 10, 1861, the Regiment embarked from Long Wharf on the "Cahawba," an ocean-going steamer, to the rousing cheers of family, friends, and the Veteran Grays. It disembarked a week later at Washington, D.C., and pitched camp, ready for action, which came in the form of a few preliminary skirmishes with the enemy, then the Battle of Bull Run. That was a disastrous day for the Union side; however, the 2nd Connecticut did not join in the panic flight of the northern troops at the end of the battle, but fell back in good order when the command was given. Shortly thereafter the 2nd Connecticut Volunteers returned home, its ninety-day enlistment period having expired.

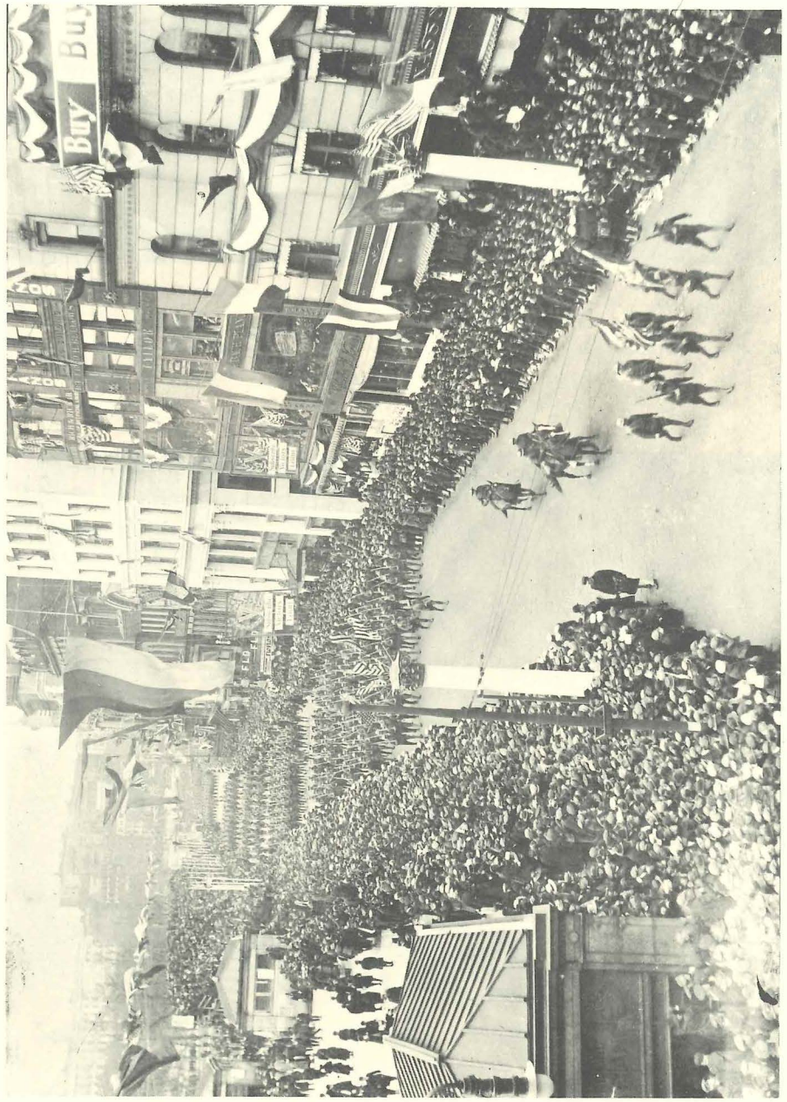
In the field at summer camp. Non-commissioned officers, New Haven Grays, September, 1904.

Parade Rest. The New Haven Grays ready for inspection on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the company. September 13, 1891.

Officers and non-commissioned officers, New Haven Grays, 1908.







Victory parade of the 102nd Infantry Regiment, Tremont Street, Boston, April 1919.

When the Grays returned to New Haven, many members resigned to join other units on a three-year basis, particularly units of the 7th, 15th, and 27th Regiments, all of which were formed in New Haven. Company A of the 27th Regiment was officered by Grays, and recruitment of the ranks was sponsored by Grays. In later years this company was always considered a Grays unit. It saw action at Chancellorsville and Fredericksburg, and suffered heavy losses at Gettysburg.

The Townsend Rifles of the 7th Regiment was recruited from members of the Grays. It was named after James M. Townsend, a beloved former Captain of the Grays. He supported this unit financially, and was supportive of the families of many of its members. It, too, was considered a Grays unit in later years, and its members were eligible to join the Veteran Grays.

Those members of the Grays who had not resigned to join another unit going to the front joined either the Veteran Grays or the newly constituted Independent Grays, a home guard that was drilled to control draft riots should they occur. In 1863, during the Gettysburg crisis, the Independent Grays was volunteered for active service by its members. The company was called to duty with the Connecticut militia as Company F, 2nd Regiment, Connecticut Volunteers, but was not sent to the front.

Twenty-three Grays lost their lives in the Civil War, including Lieutenant Colonel Henry C. Merwin and Captain Jedediah Chapman of the 27th Connecticut Volunteers, who fell at Gettysburg; Captain Edwin Hitchcock, who fell at James Island; and Major E. Walter Osborn, former Captain of the Grays, who fell at Kinston, N.C.

After the Civil War, orders from National Guard headquarters restricted the use of the Grays' dress uniform to ceremonial and unofficial occasions. But the Grays picked up its pre-war routine. Officers were elected each year, including a Recording Secretary and an Historian. There were weekly drills, contests for the Grannis Marksmanship Medal, annual balls, and participation in parades and ceremonies. The balls were formal, with dress grays being the uniform of the evening. The Veteran Grays conscientiously decorated the graves of deceased comrades in the Evergreen and Grove Street cemeteries each Memorial Day, year in and year out.

The Grays hosted occasional visits by units from other cities, with accompanying parades, collations and banquets. In 1876 it proudly formed part of the Honor Guard at the opening of the Centennial exhibition in Philadelphia, representing all of Connecticut.

Each summer the members of the New Haven Grays put their dress uniforms away, and the company integrated itself as F Company, 2nd Regiment, into the Connecticut National Guard for a two-week training encampment, usually at Niantic. After a day on the rifle range, training, and drilling, there was still time for conviviality. The members of the Grays had a good time.

The Grays was not called up for the Spanish-American War, but played an active role in the Mexican border foray of 1916. Along with all National Guard units, the Grays was mobilized in June. All of the units of the 2nd Regiment were under strength, and strenuous recruiting was undertaken, the streets literally being searched for men. After organizing at Niantic, the Grays had a tortuously routed train trip to Nogales, Arizona, where it pitched camp. The days were filled with rifle practice, cross-country marches, and maneuvers. The Grays remained at Nogales until mid-October, when it returned to New Haven by another circuitous route. On September 13, 1916, its members celebrated the Grays' centennial anniversary at an army post in Arizona. Back in New Haven, the Veteran Grays had a rather lonely celebration, and a song especially composed for the occasion did not get the audience it deserved.

Only a few months after its return from Arizona, two weeks before the formal declaration of war on Germany, the Grays was mobilized again as Company F, 102nd Infantry Regiment of the 26th (Yankee) Division. Many older Grays had resigned after the jaunt to Arizona, and the company was down to thirty men. Again, recruiting was strenuous.

The entire 102nd Infantry Regiment camped at Yale Field, and the Grays' first task after the declaration of war in April 1917 was the guarding of the Winchester plant. The 102nd Infantry Regiment was reorganized for combat, and the F companies of the first and second battalions were merged. For the first time in its long history, members of the Grays served under non-Gray officers. The New Haven Grays was engulfed by the 102nd Infantry. It reached France via Canada, a huge convoy of ships to Liverpool, a train across England, and a boat to Le Havre.

In World War I, Company F of the 102nd Infantry Regiment saw a remarkable amount of action in a brief period of time. It fought with bravery and distinction at the second battle of the Marne and at Château Thierry. It was a spearhead unit in the advance at St. Mihiel, and fought in the Argonne; a most distinguished record, indeed! Sixteen members of F Company lost their lives.

At Christmas 1918, the 102nd Infantry played host in France to President and Mrs. Wilson and the President's staff, and late in March of the following year returned to Boston on a former German luxury liner. It held a grand parade in Boston, which was reviewed by the Governor of Massachusetts, and another in Hartford, reviewed by the Governor of Connecticut. The regimental colors were then deposited in the State Capitol in Hartford, and the Regiment was mustered out of service.

After World War I, the Grays picked up where it had left off before the war. The gray uniforms were taken out of storage. The weekly drills were once again backed up by parties, an annual ball, ceremonies, and parades. Summer encampments were resumed, and there was once again keen competition for the Grannis Marksmanship Medal. The Grays participated in the Tercentenary celebration of Providence, R.I., and sent delegations to anniversary celebrations

of the Richmond, Virginia Blues and elsewhere. It took part in the New Haven Tercentenary parade in 1938, the largest in New Haven's history. The New Haven parade was followed by a spectacular ball, with the massed colors of local and visiting military units. The Veteran Grays was active and supportive. But the active members of the Grays were faced with a serious problem. Their dress gray uniforms had worn out! Replacement was a subject of discussion and debate at staff meetings for several years.

Pearl Harbor brought a few weeks of uncertainty to the Grays. It was first assigned to guarding Bullard's factory in Bridgeport, then General Electric. The Grays officers were asked to resign and were replaced by non-Grays, upsetting for the second time the unwritten tradition that the Grays was always commanded by members of the Grays. During these changes, Grays Captain McClellan was seriously ill, and he died on February 7, 1942.

In February 1942, the Grays was formally inducted into the regular army as Company C, 1st Battalion, 102nd Infantry Regiment, 43rd Division, but the 102nd Infantry was almost immediately detached from the 43rd Division and assigned to a Headquarters unit. It sailed for the Pacific that very month for a long tour of administrative and construction support duties and spent over a year on the island of Bora Bora helping Seabees build fleet, harbor, and base facilities. Then it moved on to Efate and Espiritu Santo, and finally back to Oahu.

After World War II, what had been the New Haven Grays emerged as Company A, 1st Battalion, 102nd Infantry Regiment, Connecticut National Guard, headquartered in New Haven. But there was little interest among the young men in the city and its suburbs in trying to reshape Company A into the elite, aristocratic organization it once had been. Company A, heir to the New Haven Grays name and traditions, quite naturally uses broad recruiting techniques that attract a type of recruit different from those invited to join the Grays a century ago. Many young men who might once have joined the Grays can now satisfy their military interest through the R.O.T.C. programs of their colleges. Membership in a military organization by invitation, election of officers, and special custom-tailored uniforms for the rank-and-file, paid for personally, are not in keeping with the times. One hundred and thirty years of New Haven Grays tradition have become history.

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New Haven Military Collection (MS #80) NHCHS files.

53
Painted in 1635, two years
before the settlement of New Haven,
Age of the Person 25 yrs.
Ancient Portrait, formerly in the New Haven Museum:
supposed to be that of a Relative of Governor Eaton.

The Seventeenth-Century Lady prior to restoration. The attached note identifying the subject proved to be erroneous. (NHCHS photo)

The Seventeenth-Century Lady

by Dorothy Ann Lipson

A portrait of a seventeenth-century lady, discreetly labelled "Unidentified Woman, said to be in the household of Governor Theophilus Eaton," has long hung in the North Parlor of the New Haven Colony Historical Society. The square, solid, somewhat masculine face, framed by a lace-banded cap and a deep ruff, peers myopically from the darkness of the deteriorating canvas. In the upper left corner of the portrait is the date, 1635, and the age of the sitter is given as twenty-five. In the upper right is a partially obliterated coat of arms.

John Warner Barber had given the portrait to the newly formed New Haven Colony Historical Society in 1864, noting as its provenance that it had hung in Hooker's New Haven Museum. The portrait, Barber pointed out in his notes, was painted "two years before the settlement of New Haven," and was "supposed to be that of a Relative of Governor [Theophilus] Eaton," perhaps even, he hinted, the Governor's wife, Anne.[1] If Barber's attribution was correct, the portrait of the lady is a unique pictorial document of the history of New Haven. But the picture has hung on the side wall, without any special remark, the source and object of vague curatorial uneasiness.

Successive keepers of the treasures of the Historical Society have always suspected that the portrait of the lady was not what it was supposed to be. Specifically, in the 1920s there were several intensive efforts to establish her relationship to the Eaton family, but they did not yield a positive identification of the portrait. Some recently gathered advice and opinion, however, now permits us to put the seventeenth-century lady in her proper place—in clearer historical perspective. Thus the story of the efforts to identify the lady has two main parts: the first in the 1920s and the second in 1978.

In 1921 Charles Knowles Bolton, an historian of New England and the Librarian of the Boston Athenaeum, saw a "crude reproduction" of a portrait of a woman "said to be a relative of Governor Theophilus Eaton" in Atwater's *History of New Haven*, and wrote to Lawrence Bostwick, Librarian of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, to request a photograph of it.[2] Bolton generously offered to pay for "having the picture washed off with a little warm water and soap" in preparation for the photographing. The portrait, Bostwick answered in due course, was in extremely poor condition, and perhaps, he seems

to have suggested, the Boston Athenaeum's interest might move them to pay for some sort of restoration. "I should be sorry to have it re-touched," Bolton smoothly replied, "because I want it photographed practically as it is today without any paint on it."[3] Urged on by this interest, the Society had the portrait cleaned, varnished, stretched, and photographed in January, 1922.

Charles Bolton was delighted with the results. "It is far more interesting than I had been led to believe from the simple little woodcut which appears in the book," he wrote.[4] However, all their efforts had not yielded a clear delineation of the darkened coat of arms in the upper right-hand corner of the picture, and on its characteristics, Bolton pointed out, "hang the identification."[5] The reason for Bolton's pursuit of the lady's identity soon became clear, if it had not been before. He was preparing the third volume of his work on the "founders" of America, *Portraits of Persons Born Abroad Who Came to the Colonies in North America before the Year 1701,* replete with biographical comments. The lady in the portrait was a puzzle. The coat of arms might confirm Barber's identification of the sitter as a member of the Eaton family, but in its semi-obliterated state it had "taxed to the limit the ingenuity of our local heraldic enthusiasts," Bolton wrote. "In all my experience, I have never run against so difficult a problem. . . . "[6] He was beginning to suspect that the coat of arms was not even English.

Bolton widened his search to query heraldic "enthusiasts" and experts in Boston, New Haven, New York, and London, and his certainty that the lady was "not of English stock" grew with the puzzlement in their responses. Nevertheless, his interest in the portrait continued.[7] In March 1922, shortly after receiving the opinion of Pierre de C. la Rose that the coat of arms was probably German, he communicated his conclusion that the portrait was not English to Bostwick, along with an astonishing offer: "If your Society would be willing to sell the picture for a modest sum, I should like to buy it."[8] Bostwick's rejection went out by return mail. "You see," Bostwick wrote, "the portrait is intimately connected with New Haven history, and therefore the Society would be most unwilling to part with it." Bostwick's indignation at the effrontery of Bolton's offer was barely veiled. He himself, Bostwick wrote, had never claimed to know much about heraldry, but he was surprised that "at the 'hub of the Universe' " no one could be found to identify a coat of arms.[9] On that note, the Bolton-Bostwick correspondence ended.

Bolton continued to work on *The Founders,* and he widened his search for the identity of the lady. The nearest coats that the College of Arms of England could find, they wrote him, were those of Strigler von Lowenberg, but Bolton "could not connect that family with anyone in America."[10] In 1923, however, one of Bolton's "heraldic enthusiasts" took over the correspondence with the NHCHS. Dr. Howard Buck had examined the coat of arms and strongly suspected that it might be Danish.

Dr. Buck had several reasons for suspecting Danish origins in the arms, he wrote to the Society. "It might have been a special Grant or Augmentation for

Theophilus Eaton, who executed some mission in Denmark for King James." Or it might be the coat of arms of Eaton's first wife or some other close kin, since Ann of Denmark had been the consort of James, and, having drawn "a certain number of Danes to London in her suite," might have influenced the heraldic devices of some English families.[11] But Buck apparently was not satisfied with even his own tentative conclusions, and in October 1925, he had a new suggestion for the Society, backed by a tantalizing hypothesis. He suggested that the portrait be sent to Edward Forbes of the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard to be analyzed by the new X-ray techniques employed there.

Dr. Buck suggested that the portrait of the seventeenth-century lady be X-rayed not only to bring out more information about the heraldic device, but also to ascertain whether it had ever been changed or added to. In his own recent experience, the X-ray of a coat of arms on a Portulan map had disclosed an earlier one directly beneath it. His examination of the total portrait, however, suggested the new measure. "I do not feel sure about the sex of the original, as there is the possibility of tampering with the portrait to disguise or mask the identity." Then he added portentiously an allusion certain to pique the interest of New Haveners: "You will recall the Regicides of early days in New Haven."[12] The possibility that even if we did not have an Eaton we might have a regicide swept the field at the next meeting of the Board, and the portrait was forthwith sent to the Fogg. But the results of this new effort were disappointing. "The X-ray did not reveal anything startling about the picture," Forbes reported. The portrait was "unquestionably a woman," painted all at the same time, by an unknown artist. Forbes thought it might well be "a Dutch seventeenth-century painting," adding one more expert opinion to the Society's growing collection.[13]

Bolton's third volume of *The Founders* was published in 1926, and the Society found that it included the portrait of the lady, along with a somewhat enigmatic commentary, devoted mostly to the coat of arms. Bolton reprinted Barber's notes on the portrait, in which Barber had named Ann Morton as Eaton's second wife, after Ann Hiller, and then stated that Ann Morton had previously been married to Thomas Yale. The Yale family, Barber had gone on to say, claimed a connection with Welsh royalty that might account for the princely plumes on the arms. Bolton pointed out that Eaton's second wife had been named Ann Lloyd, not Ann Morton. Having cleared up that basic error, he found that "the coat of arms in the picture did not represent Eaton, Hiller, Lloyd, Morton, or Yale." The Eaton attribution, he concluded, seemed to have "little support from ascertainable facts," and the "arms are almost certainly not English."[14] The Society appears to have considered Bolton's broadside as one more expert opinion to be added to its collection of conflicting hypotheses, none of which mandated giving up all claims to an Eaton connection in the portrait. The painting continued to hang in the Parlor, with Barber's attribution primly tentative on the label.

In the years that followed, the re-varnished surface of the canvas deteriorated, and the tinctures and design of the coat of arms faded further into oblivion. Then, in 1978, one more attempt was made to identify the lady in the portrait, and if not the lady herself, the country of her origin. To that end, the authorities in the National Portrait Gallery in London, costume experts at the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Courtauld Institute of Art, and heraldic experts at the College of Arms and in various European centers of heraldry were consulted. Although the experts did not agree in their speculations about the lady, they did concur in one negative opinion: the portrait was not English.

First Richard Ormund of the National Portrait Gallery inspected a color photograph of the portrait and confidently placed the work in the early seventeenth century, but not in England. The portrait seemed to him to be the work of a local painter or one of those journeymen who travelled from town to town in Europe painting the families of the wealthier bourgeoisie.[15] The angle of the New Haven sitter's head suggested that it may have been painted as one of a pair, usually man and wife. The brushwork was crude compared to the great—or even the good—portraits of the period, with more attention devoted to the lace than to the face. Then Mrs. M. Ginsburg of the Victoria and Albert Museum studied the lace and the style of the cap, or coif, and was confident that they were not English. Musing aloud over the picture of the square, expressionless face, Mrs. Ginsburg said she was tempted to imagine a clerical cap beneath the lace coif, and a clerical collar beneath the ruff—an observation surprisingly reminiscent of Dr. Buck's remarks in 1925, and when he had urged the Society to X-ray the portrait.[16] Finally, Miss Aileen Ribiero of the Courtauld Institute agreed with the others that the costume of the sitter was not English, and she tentatively placed the portrait in the Low Countries or Germany.[17]

The experts on portraiture in England were united in the opinion that the sitter was Continental because of stylistic details, especially of dress. The coif, according to Miss Ribiero, was of a middle-class style, associated with burgher women all over the Continent, with many local variations depending on taste and means. Not only the lace but the ruff suggested the Low Countries or Germany to her. In England the ruff, usually smaller and narrower than the one portrayed, had just about disappeared as a style by 1635, even in the countryside, and even before Charles I set the style of his generation in the small, flat collar of linen and lace. However, that fashion had persisted on the Continent throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, except in Spain, where it had been outlawed. Ruffs of the sitter's style were especially popular in Germany, where they were called Krösen, and in some places so increased in depth and breadth that the handles of spoons had to be lengthened to enable the gentry to convey food to their mouths.[18]

With all the experts concurring that the portrait was not English, and that the Low Countries or Germany were the likely places of its origin, the next step was to consult the portrait files of the Witt Library of the Courtauld Institute. By

comparing the New Haven portrait with those on file, it became quite clear where it had been painted.[19] New Haven's seventeenth-century lady was from an arms-bearing, burgher family in Germany, and the portrait had been painted in the first half of the seventeenth century by an anonymous itinerant or local painter of less than mediocre skill.

The establishment of the German origins of the portrait just about rules out any relationship of the lady to the Eaton family, but some national, if not familial, attribution for the coat of arms might buttress the identification. The College of Arms was queried once again. D.H.B. Chesshyre, Rouge Croix Pursuivant, studied a photograph of the device "as carefully as the small scale and worn condition permit," and once again confirmed that the arms were not English. The earlier suggestions about English royal connection were clearly misinformed. The crest was not a ducal coronet. Feathers had been a common device in heraldry throughout Europe since the Middle Ages, and, Chesshyre wrote, they were "by no means associated only with our heir apparent, and in any case his are always white." He suggested a European search.[20]

Heraldic symbols, like bourgeois dress, do not coincide with political boundaries, and the first few European inquiries were inconclusive. Dr. Carl-Alexander von Volbroth of Antwerp pointed out that the "barred helmets with crest-coronets" were "used by the nobility (and often burghers) from Hungary to the Netherlands and from Italy to Denmark." The arms, he thought, might be Dutch or Flemish or possibly Danish, or—unsatisfied still with the list—perhaps Spanish, but "granted to a family in the 'Spanish Netherlands.' "[21] Jonkher F.G.L.O. van Ketchmer, Director of the Schlichting Iconographisch Bureau of the Hague, was able to rule out authoritatively Dutch or Flemish origin. The coat of arms with its coronet helmet and feather crest showed patterns most frequently found in Germany, he said, and the whole device was "consistent with heraldic painting to be found in seventeenth-century German portraiture."[22] Finally, Dr. Ottfried Neubecker of Wiesbach, Germany, a member of the Governing Board of the International Academy of Heraldry, gave the definitive opinion about the coat of arms: "I am convinced that this is a German one," he wrote.[23] Here the separate assessments of the authorities on portraiture, costume, and heraldry meshed. The lady was as surely identified as the anonymity of the painter and sitter would permit.

There is nothing in a German Bourgeois identity to link the seventeenth-century lady to the Eaton family. Barber's notes on the portrait had been systematically erroneous, however faithfully he may have preserved the lore attending the picture. Although successive directors, curators, librarians, and docents of the Society have always suspected that the attribution of the portrait was specious, they have been reluctant to disclaim or relabel, let alone to sell it. Their reasons for wishing to hold and show the portrait have not been fully articulated, perhaps, but they have all implicitly agreed that the portrait of the anonymous lady was, and is, important.

The painting is a relic of the early history of the Historical Society itself. In the middle of the nineteenth century, when Barber must have acquired it, the ideas and ideals of the first settlers, and the relatively homogeneous and static agricultural communities they founded, sometimes seemed as obscure as the details on the old canvas. Surges of new European immigration and technological innovations had begun to change the shape of New Haven. Some of the descendants of earlier migrations not only felt that there was a threat of disorientation in the multi-ethnic industrializing communities they still led, but they believed that it was socially and politically necessary to acculturate, or "Americanize," the new settlers. Some of them did so by clarifying their own relationship to the past through genealogical patriotic societies, and some through the encouragement of museums and historical societies, often with a strong commitment to community education. Barber is the perfect example of one such native son. As he said in his preface to *Connecticut Historical Collections,* published many years before he gave that wishfully labelled portrait to the newly formed New Haven Colony Historical Society, "Everything relating to the history of the 'Pilgrim Fathers' is worthy of preservation."[24] Indeed, Bostwick may well have been referring to Barber's antiquarian zeal and to the sense of mission in the formation of the Historical Society when he so rightly told Bolton in 1922 that the portrait of the seventeenth-century lady, whoever she was, was "intimately connected with New Haven history."

NOTES

1. Charles Knowles Bolton, *The Founders,* vol. III: *Portraits of Persons Born Abroad Who Came to the Colonies in North America before the Year 1701* (Boston, 1926), p. 972.

2. Letter from C.K. Bolton to Frederick [*sic*] Bostwick, Boston, November 2, 1921 (in the files of NHCHS). Letter from C.K. Bolton to Willis Setson, Boston, November 3, 1921 (in the files of NHCHS). Edward E. Atwater, *History of the Colony of New Haven to Its Absorption into Connecticut* (Meriden, Connecticut, 1902), p. 115.

3. Letter from C.K. Bolton to Lawrence E. Bostwick, Boston, December 2, 1921 (in the files of NHCHS).

4. Letter from C.K. Bolton to L.E. Bostwick, January 9, 1922 (in the files of NHCHS).

5. Letter from C.K. Bolton to L.E. Bostwick, Boston, December 2, 1921 (in the files of NHCHS).

6. Letter from C.K. Bolton to C.L.F. Camp, Boston, February 13, 1922 (in the files of NHCHS).

7. Letter from C.K. Bolton to L.E. Bostwick, Boston, March 15, 1922 (in the files of NHCHS).

8. Bolton, *Founders,* III, p. 977.

9. Letter from L.E. Bostwick to C.K. Bolton, New Haven, March 16, 1922 (in the files of NHCHS).

10. Bolton, *Founders,* III, p. 977.

11. Letter from Howard M. Buck to Miss W. Carmalt, Boston, February 17, 1923 (in the files of NHCHS).

12. Letter from H.M. Buck to "The Curator" NHCHS, Boston, October 22, 1925 (in the files of NHCHS). When Charles II came to the throne in 1660, he immediately sought the members of the High Court of Justice, who had beheaded his father in 1649. Three of these regicide judges fled to New England and were hidden from the King's pursuivants in and about New Haven. Some distinguished local antiquarians and historians have spent a good deal of time and energy defending conflicting views about the fate of these regicides in America. See Rollin G. Osterweis, *Three Centuries of New Haven, 1638-1938* (New Haven, 1953), pp. 55-64.

13. Edward Forbes to Miss Ethel Schofield, Boston, December 29, 1925 (in the files of NHCHS).

14. Bolton, *Founders,* III, pp. 972-975.

15. Interview, National Portrait Gallery, London, February 16, 1978.

16. Interview, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, February 24, 1978.

17. Interview, Courtauld Institute of Art, London, March 3, 1978.

18. Max Boehn, *Modes and Manners,* Vol. III: *The Seventeenth Century,* trans. by J. Joshua (London, 1935), 110 *et passim.*

19. Witt Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, Photograph Collection, Germany, Boxes 47a-49.

20. Letter from D.H.B. Chesshyre to Dorothy Ann Lipson, February 27, 1978, London, and March 3, 1978, London (in the files of NHCHS).

21. Letter from C.-A. von Volbroth to D.A. Lipson, Antwerp, March 10, 1978 (in the files of NHCHS).

22. Letter from F.G.L.O. van Ketchmer to D.A. Lipson, The Hague, March 21, 1978 (in the files of NHCHS).

23. Letter from Dr. Ottfried Neubecker to D.A. Lipson, Wiesbach, Germany, March 29, 1978.

24. John Warner Barber, *Connecticut Historical Collections, Containing a General Collection of Interesting Facts . . . Relating to the History and Antiquities of Every Town in Connecticut, with Geographical Descriptions* (New Haven, 1838), iii. See also Richard Hegel, *Nineteenth-Century Historians of Connecticut* (Hamden, Conn., 1972), pp. 33-50.

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